

Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

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INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

AMEMBASSY PANAMA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

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/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 782
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
USMISSION NATO
USLO PEKING

UNCLAS USUN 0182

BEIRUT PASS BAGHDAD

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, XF
SUBJECT: AMB MOYNIHAN'S STATEMENT TO SECURITY COUNCIL IN
MIDDLE EAST DEBATE

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF AMB MOYNIHAN'S JANUARY 19 SECURITY
COUNCIL STATEMENT: QUOTE
MR. PRESIDENT:

THE UNITED STATES HAS FOLLOWED WITH GREAT INTEREST THE COURSE
OF THE DEBATE AND HAS NOTED ATTENTIVELY THE STATEMENTS
AND POSITIONS LAID BEFORE US BY BOTH CONCERNED AND
INTERESTED PARTIES. IT IS CERTAIN, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT
THE ISSUE BEFORE US--THE ISSUE OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE
EAST--REMAINS ONE OF THE MOST COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT
ISSUES THAT CAN BE IMAGINED. SOME OF THE STATEMENTS
PRESENTED TO THIS COUNCIL HAVE TAKEN US BACK TO THE
ORIGINS OF THE PROBLEM--AND WE CONSIDERED IT FROM MANY
DIMENSIONS.

IF THERE ARE TWO MAIN THINGS WE CAN LEARN FROM
THE EVENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN REVIEWED DURING THE PAST WEEK
IN THIS COUNCIL, ONE IS SURELY THAT WAR, VIOLENCE,
TERRORISM, AND RESORT TO FORCE HAVE SERIOUSLY AGGRAVATED
THIS PROBLEM OVER THE LAST SEVERAL DECADES AND WE ARE NOW
DEALING WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS VIOLENCE. ANOTHER
LESSON IS THAT THE RELATIVELY RARE BUT VERY SIGNIFICANT
STEPS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE TOWARDS INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS
TO AVOID WAR AND TOWARDS LONG RANGE PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS
HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE ONLY WHEN PARTIES TO THIS PROBLEM
COULD OPERATE WITHIN AN AGREED FRAMEWORK. THE BASIC
TRUTHS BEFORE US ARE THAT, TO AVOID CONFLICT, THERE
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MUST BE CONTACT AND NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT TO MAINTAIN
A NEGOTIATING PROCESS THERE MUST BE A FRAMEWORK WITHIN
WHICH THE PARTIES HAVE AGREED TO NEGOTIATE.

ONE OF THE GREATEST CONTRIBUTIONS THIS COUNCIL
HAS MADE IN ITS NOTABLE HISTORY WAS TO ESTABLISH THAT
FRAMEWORK. IN 1967, AFTER MONTHS OF NEGOTIATION AND

EFFORT, SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 WAS ADOPTED. IN 1973 IT WAS REAFFIRMED AND AUGMENTED BY RESOLUTION 338. THESE TWO RESOLUTIONS, AND THE WILL TO APPLY THEM, HAVE BEEN THE FOUNDATION FOR THE PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN MADE, AND THEY CONTINUE TO PROVIDE HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

OUR DISCUSSIONS OVER THESE LAST DAYS HAVE OFFERED MANY POSSIBILITIES OF CHANGES TO OR AUGMENTATION OF THESE RESOLUTIONS AND VARIATIONS FOR THE BASIC FRAMEWORK. WE HAVE LISTENED TO THE IDEAS PUT FORWARD; WE UNDERSTAND THE SENTIMENTS AND CONCERNS BEHIND MANY OF THEM. BUT IN SPITE OF THESE INTERESTS AND CONCERNS, WE CANNOT ESCAPE THE REALITY OF THE SITUATION THAT WHEN ALL PARTIES HAVE AGREED TO A FRAMEWORK, ALL OF THEM MUST AGREE TO CHANGES IN THAT FRAMEWORK. CHANGES IMPOSED ON THE PARTIES AND UNACCEPTABLE TO ANY ONE OF THEM, HOWEVER GREAT THE GOOD WILL, WILL NOT WORK. THAT FRAMEWORK REFLECTS THE ENORMOUS COMPLEXITIES AND INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN A SETTLEMENT, AND TO MODIFY ONE PART OF IT RISKS DESTROYING IT ENTIRELY. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE A SETBACK FOR THE CHANCES OF ACHIEVING TRUE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST FOR THIS COUNCIL TO CONCLUDE ITS CURRENT DEBATE BY ADOPTING RESOLUTIONS WHICH WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF LEAVING NO COMMONLY ACCEPTED BASIS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATION.

WHERE WOULD WE GO FROM THERE? WITH THE INCREASING COMPLEXITY OF EACH STEP AND EACH YEAR, THE PROCESS OF BUILDING A NEW FOUNDATION FOR PEACE, OF ESTABLISHING A NEW PROCESS BECOMES A MORE DIFFICULT TASK. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT THE UNITED STATES FEELS THAT ENDANGERING THIS AGREED FRAMEWORK IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE RESULTS HERE IN THIS COUNCIL WHICH WOULD THEMSELVES NOT GUARANTEE A SOLUTION OR EVEN PROGRESS TOWARD THAT SOLUTION IS NOT UNCLASSIFIED

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WORTH THE RISK.

WE BELIEVE THAT THERE IS ENOUGH LEEWAY IN THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS IF THERE IS THE WILL TO USE THEM, THAT ALL THE PROBLEMS BEFORE US CAN BE DEALT WITH MOST EFFECTIVELY BY THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, AND THAT SUCH CHANGES AS MAY BE REQUIRED IN OUR APPROACH MUST BE WORKED OUT IN THE GENEVA PROCESS. IT IS AT GENEVA OR AT A PREPARATORY CONFERENCE THAT MATTERS OF PROCEDURE, SUCH AS THE QUESTION OF ADDITIONAL PARTICIPANTS, AND OF SUBSTANCE CAN AND SHOULD BE ADDRESSED. HAVING SUCCEEDED IN ESTABLISHING AN AGREED FRAMEWORK OF PROCEDURES AND PRINCIPLES FOR A SETTLEMENT, AND IN CREATING CONDITIONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AS A FORUM

IN WHICH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THOSE PRINCIPLES CAN
BE NEGOTIATED, THE COUNCIL SHOULD NOT NOW SEEK TO
PREJUDGE THE WORK OF THAT CONFERENCE.

AS WE HAVE STATED BEFORE, THE UNITED STATES IS
PREPARED TO COOPERATE WITH ALL THE STATES INVOLVED ON
ALL THE ISSUES. WE ARE AWARE THAT THERE CAN BE NO
DURABLE SOLUTION UNLESS WE MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO PROMOTE
A SOLUTION OF THE KEY ISSUES OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE
IN THAT AREA ON THE BASIS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS
242 AND 338, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS
OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE AREA, INCLUDING THE PALESTINIAN
PEOPLE, AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS TO INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE
OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA. WE ARE COMMITTED TO A PEACE
SETTLEMENT WHICH RESOLVES ALL OF THE ISSUES IN THE
CONFLICT--WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, THE RIGHT
OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA TO LIVE WITHIN SECURE AND
RECOGNIZED BORDERS, RECIPROCAL OBLIGATIONS OF THE PARTIES
TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH EACH OTHER, AND ALL THE OTHER
QUESTIONS WHICH MUST BE DEALT WITH IN THE NEGOTIATING
PROCESS. WE ARE ALSO AWARE THAT ALL OF THESE ELEMENTS
ARE INEXTRICABLY TIED TOGETHER BY RESOLUTIONS 242 AND
338 IN WHAT THE DISTINGUISHED FORMER REPRESENTATIVE OF
THE UK, LORD CARADON, DESCRIBED AS "A BALANCED WHOLE."

MY GOVERNMENT IS DEDICATED TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO
ACHIEVE PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN THIS
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YEAR. WE HAVE LEARNED AND PROFITED FROM THE DELIBERATIONS
OF THIS COUNCIL AND THE IDEAS THAT HAVE BEEN PUT FORTH
HERE. WE BELIEVE OUR STRONGEST DUTY, HOWEVER, IS TO
PRESERVE THE PROCESS FOR PEACE THAT WE HAVE ALL WORKED
SO HARD TO CONSTRUCT, AND TO USE IT SO THAT THE PROBLEMS
BEFORE US CAN BE MET AND OVERCOME. WE ARE CONFIDENT
THAT PROGRESS CAN BE MADE, AND WE ARE COMMITTED TO
ACHIEVE IT. THE PEACE AND SAFETY OF THE WORLD DEMAND
NOTHING LESS. OUR ACTIONS BOTH IN THE COUNCIL AND
AFTERWARDS WILL BE GUIDED BY OUR BEST JUDGMENT OF WHAT
IS NECESSARY TO ADVANCE TOWARD, AND AVOID IMPEDING,
ACHIEVEMENT OF THIS OBJECTIVE.

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